/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingua tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingua /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The
285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general,
534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting; they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

793 Of great importance even today are the objects used in
292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the
237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe.
[301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears
[304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of
[301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special
[824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

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314 The making of this lip-plug is strictly prescribed and is regarded by the elders as a sort of religious act. Two different trees furnish the suitable resin: in the language of the Caiuás [192] they are called: tembetá and caiuí. The resin of the former is far more highly prized.

The extraction and preparation are done in the following way: One peels the bark off a suitable trunk and in the peeled spot scratches a triangle, at the lower tip of which a small, hollow bamboo tube is fastened. The whole is covered with a large leaf. The bamboo tube is left for three to four weeks, until it is full of the slowly dripping resin. Then it is removed and the already hardened resin, which now has the desired shape of the lip-plug, is pulled out. It is dried well in the sun and smoothed with amambai leaves (7). -- The triangle, however,

7. Fern.

may be incised only in the late afternoon, shortly before sun- [184] down. The man who does it must fast after midday and the following forenoon; drinking too, even pure water, is forbidden. Prayers are said during the cutting and the attaching of the bamboo.

301 The Caiuás put great value on their tembetá; it is their 186 tribal mark. "The tembetá to us is the same as the flag to the whites," an older man told me.

301 The wife of the priest of magic likewise adorns herself • 237 with a chest band that bears tufts of feathers, and furthermore 793 with chains of seeds. In former times the beak of the toucan was a favorite ornament of the women. -- Today the toucans have become rare as a consequence of the clearing of the forests and the advancing settlements. Since four toucans are needed for a diadem, new ones are scarcely made any more, and only the priests wear them on festive occasions. The young people no longer know how to make them around the bow string. -- /220/ In recent times chest bands that display silk tassels instead of feather tufts have appeared.

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Fig. 6. The two highest priests of magic among the Caiuás Indians. Both wear the poncho with fringes and tufts of feathers, which are clearly to be seen on the right poncho; on the left the huge chains of seeds cover them. Long strings with tufts of feathers hang down from the left diadem. The bracelets and lip-plugs are also seen.

539 the opposite coast and swam to land, where João Grande, the stork, received them in a friendly manner.

He was fishing at the moment and hid the brothers in his basket under the captured fish. When the crocodile came swimming up in order /228/ to inquire about the children, João Grande denied having seen them. Soon afterward he carried them to his house and served them the tastiest foods. The children did not wish to stay long and continued their journey. -- They came to the house of the owl and inquired about Nhande-Sy. The owl, known as deceitful, said she did not know anything, but the mother was not living in the house of the falcon. Scarcely had she spoken this lie when she turned into the animal-owl:

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"Hoĕri yahá, hoĕri yahá, ĭe resá.
Nhanderykeỹ mbaraká ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeỹ ha dźyroký ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeỹ yeguaka ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeỹ kuakuahá ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeỹ tembetá ĭe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeỹ has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

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The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably forgotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called

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saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the foremost chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,

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the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside

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it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/233 cont./

796 disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large
• [237] bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a
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Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

793 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place
796 a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

[778] At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he
[784] spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein.

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292 293 [531] Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively ritual use, the klíákuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 [126] The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton. In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters. [286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles, [283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece 291 531 237 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yellow and orange toucan (tũhã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) [192] feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called 291 [114] fiemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imitation of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers, called iporavõhaguê. The care with which the ponchito is adorned 292 178 198 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods, leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

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881 301 considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites. [184] [237] [192] [751]

881 [751] [824] During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go [171] out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Brazilian tribes. [352] In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precaution of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

/92/

881 In front of the hammock or the board bed, the father or
[354] brother lights a little fire for light and warmth, or else a small
• [237] candle of iraitý (wax of wild bees), since in the dark there would be danger of odjépotá. An old Ñandéva woman told me that when she "passed from one age to another" the resguardo was so rigorous that she was not even allowed to blow up the fire that was lighted in her cubicle at night; it fell to the brother to take care of it.

881 When she goes out to satisfy a need, the girl should have
184 her head and body wrapped in a cloth; she does not go very far from the house and, at least among the Ñandéva, is accompanied by her mother. Among the Mbüá she goes out alone, but looking only at the ground and walking quickly.

881 The essential part is that the menstruating girl nourish her-
262 self only on "chosen food" and in small quantity, besides being
[263] insipid or prepared with little salt. Aside from the principal food, small fish or birds ("light meat"), she is given sweet potatoes, beiju (mbeidjú) /a paste made with manioc flour/, chicha, etc; the father, brother, or some cousin takes it upon himself to get the birds or catch the fish for the "patient."

It is necessary above all to avoid the meat of game: deer, anta, paca, queixada /white-lipped peccary/, caeto /collared
[184] peccary/. Tatu, so they tell me, is allowed among the Ñandéva and prohibited among the Mbüá. Even the meat of some birds is prohibited: baitaca, among the Mbüá; baitaca, juriti, inhambu, and jacu among the Ñandéva. The latter enumerate further among the restrictions: beans (except pole beans), coffee, pork
881 and beef, as well as fats. The non-observance is bound up with
262 negative consequences for the health. Thus, the Mbüá say that
753 the peccary would give tapeworms, while parrot and tatu would give "crazy head." The Ñandéva, in turn, insist on the danger of epilepsy ("attack," ẽ-ó-á) for the girl (and for her future children, according to Poýdjú of Araribá) who does not abstain from game, and they believe that baitaca and juriti would cause heavy bleeding during menstruation. The meat of deer in particular is responsible for the "attacks," in the opinion of both the Ñandéva and the Kayová. The use of inhambu meat, the Ñandéva say,

/146 cont./

[771] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [726] [778] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] [608] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is [553] [787] a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. [851] He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle [237] of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive [782] nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the [851] four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the [553] name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in [775] order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

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751 177 237 Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pendant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo, "in order to have strength; the armadillo has its strength in the hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against toothache. On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in general, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

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The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Ñandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguêry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

776 [184] [171] I have noted among the Ñandéva and the Kayová the figure of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it; nobody sees it,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[41] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*sarakwá*) and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokwé* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well; including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus and horse. The armadillo or *taitú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[41] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins of animals.[a] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapûi*, in each family section, and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

Every aboriginal *tapûi* had its mortar, and probably most had several of these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.[a] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

Long troughs for *cāwī'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapûi*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest observed.

Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women themselves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically replaced aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cāwī'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cāwī'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunakū'* (or *adjaká*), worn across the

[a] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[a] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mbocói* (the word for "two"?).

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Cainguá (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano

> are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Cainguá of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as *"Cayuá ou Caingua du Brésil"* (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[48]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pañ," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[54] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[55] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[56]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[57] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

[48] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [54] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 706. [55] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[56] *Ibid.* [57] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[58] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[59]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[60]

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[61] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[62] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakuá*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

[58] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [59] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[60] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[61] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [62] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
*178 *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[134] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of
291 native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
824 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most fre-
237 quently used today.

*178 The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
881 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for
304 the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never
[825] having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 Face painting with *urucú*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South
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[134] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusá* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbaraká*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain.

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cãuĩ'* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cãuĩ'* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cãuĩ'* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor.

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. Firefans, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers.

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbaraká* gourd rattles, *takwapú* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

Caingué do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingué* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paĩ*. Other *Caingué* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Caingué* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

Household furniture.—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing.—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Cainguá* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú.

At ceremonies, modern *Cainguá* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Cainguá* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Cainguá*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery.

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Cainguá* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Cainguá:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds.

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones.

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*).

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets.

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions.

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people.

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Cainguá* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and

[8] For a good description of the Guaraní pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:67.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.

The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

Law and order.—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

Etiquette.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and naming.—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, refraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva* believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his supernatural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine namesake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

Boys' initiation.—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer, a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death. For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."